DRAFT

The Brothers McIntosh
From Prisoners to Planters in the Colonial South

by
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Author's Note

Even before the Revolutionary War, there were many people named Mackintosh / MacIntosh / McKintosh / McIntosh in South Carolina. Large clusters of them lived on the Great Pee Dee, Wateree, and Black Rivers, as well as in Charleston. Virtually every man with that surname in the colony had one of only six Christian names: John, Alexander, Lachlan, William, George, and James. Much of my research has been spent establishing that various Johns, Alexanders, etc., were not our John, our Alexander, or one of their offspring.

As this research unfolded, the primary-source evidence became increasingly difficult to reconcile with Alexander Gregg's 1905 *History of the Old Cheraws*. Eventually, I realized that Gregg had been fundamentally mistaken. He thought that our John McIntosh had married a Miss Mikell. In fact, it was John's son, also named John, who had married a Mikell. He thought that our Alexander McIntosh had married a Miss James. In fact, our John had married her, and Alexander had married a Miss Jones. Relatedly, several memorial stones that Gregg assigned to John's offspring actually belong to Alexander's, and *vice versa*. If I'm right, then every family-tree attempt that is grounded in Gregg's statements about our John's and Alexander's nuclear families is incorrect.

I. Captured, Imprisoned, Transported, Indentured

The Second Jacobite Rebellion was the final, failed attempt by the Scottish Stuart family to recapture the British crown that James II had lost in 1688. The rebellion ended on April 16, 1746, with the defeat of Charles Stuart's army by British forces at Culloden Moor, just outside the Clan Mackintosh capital, Inverness.

Once the fighting was over, the British summarily killed all Jacobite soldiers who were too wounded to walk and sent to the gallows any who appeared old enough to have exercised leadership. The remaining 600-or-so young men were marched to prison, there to await transportation to New World plantations as indentured servants.

The Crown Treasury contracted with a Liverpudlian named Richard Gilbert to transport the 600 young Jacobites. Gilbert gave the Treasury five pounds for each and every captive. He also paid for the shipping and arranged for the prisoners to be auctioned off to colonial planters or their agents at the ships' New World ports of call. In exchange, he would keep all of the auction proceeds.

It took Gilbert a year to arrange shipping and to ensure that a well-attended auction would happen promptly at each destination. During that time, the captives were held in prison at Carlisle and, as their dates of embarkation approached, Chester.

In all, Gilbert probably hired around a dozen ships, to transport around fifty prisoners each. A single one of the transportees bore both the Christian name John and a surname with any spelling of Mackintosh. Logged as "McIntosh, John, a Jacobite," he was around eighteen years old and my great, great, great, great, great grandfather. His father might have been a Colonel John McIntosh, who had died, aged forty-one, at Culloden or in its aftermath.

John was transported on the *Johnson*, commanded by Captain William Pemberton. Eight of the prisoners intended for that ship died from drowning when a small boat capsized on its way to the moored vessel. The *Johnson* sailed from Liverpool on May 5, 1747.

A single one of the Jacobite transportees bore both the Christian name Alexander and a surname with any spelling of Mackintosh. Logged as Alexander MacIntosh, he was also around eighteen years old and John's brother. It's not clear which was the elder brother, but I suspect it was Alexander. He was transported on the *Gilbert*, commanded by Captain Richard Holme. The *Gilbert* sailed from Liverpool three weeks after the *Johnson* had.

The crossing took about ten weeks. The prisoners spent the journey manacled in the ships' holds. The daily sustenance for each was a strip of salted beef, a biscuit, and some water stained red from the claret casks that held it.

On July 17, 1747, the *Johnson* arrived at Oxford, Maryland, on the Chesapeake Bay's upper Eastern Shore. On August 5, 1747, the *Gilbert* arrived at Port North (present-day Georgetown in Washington, DC). John and Alexander would have experienced the same procedure on arrival: The auctioneer came aboard. The prisoners were led up onto the ship's deck. Their manacles were removed. The auctioneer addressed them with some remarks meant to be reassuring. Within three days, the auction took place on deck. The average purchase price was around nine pounds. A small handful of the prisoners were bought by sympathetic men who immediately freed them, but there's no evidence that John or Alexander enjoyed such luck.

The Jacobites' term of indenture was seven years. Evidence described in the next chapter suggests that John served his term on a Virginia plantation located within the triangle described

by present-day Route 50 (running east-to-west), the Potomac River (running northeast-to-southwest), and the Occoquan River / Bull Run (running southeast-to-northwest). Considering that John and Alexander arrived on different ships, at different ports, three weeks apart, it's unlikely they served on the same plantation. But they would not have been separated by much distance, and there seems to have been an effective grapevine connecting the region's Scottish Highlanders. So, John and Alexander probably located each other and communicated, possibly through intermediaries, during their terms of service.

By the start of 1754, John and Alexander had spent nearly seven years acquiring knowledge and skills that were relevant to carving a new plantation out of forest and exploiting it profitably. The brothers undoubtedly carried the ambition shared by almost all impoverished immigrants, plus a drive to make up for lost time. If my guess about their parentage is right, then their determination to move up in the world was probably heightened by knowing that their grandfather had been hereditary *laird* of a manor nestled in the heart of ancestral Mackintosh country. They had spent their first decade of adulthood in war, prison, and – longest of all – forced labor. They must have emerged tough as nails, and with a somewhat easy attitude toward violence and cruelty.

Main Sources

Harry Wright Newman, *To Maryland from Overseas: A Complete Digest of the Jacobite Loyalists Sold into White Slavery in Maryland, and the British and Continental Background of Approximately 1,400 Maryland Settlers from 1634 to the Early Federal Period with Source Documentation* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), pp. 1, 6-7, 9.

Dobson, David, *Directory of Scots Banished to the American Plantations, 1650-1775* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1989), p. 194.

Ibid., David, *The Original Scots Colonists of Early America, 1612-1783*, 2d Ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2010), p. 140.

II. Soldiers Again

The first battle in the global Seven Years' War began on July 3, 1754, when a French-led force of European and Native American soldiers attacked a small British fort named Necessity, which was located near present-day Farmington, Pennsylvania, and was commanded by a young George Washington.

Washington's unit was part of a colonial Virginia militia that the British had begun assembling at the start of February 1754. The muster roll included one Mackintosh: John McIntosh. The roll noted that he had enlisted in Truro Parish, Virginia. Truro sat on the western side of the Potomac River and, at the time, comprised the bottom half of present-day Fairfax and Arlington Counties. It included, among other plantations, George Washington's Mount Vernon and George Mason's Gunston Hall.

John enlisted in mid-February, which would have been very near the end of a seven-year indenture that had started in July 1747. The new militia was hoovering up indentured men in Virginia. To the extent those men had much choice in the matter, many of them would have been eager. They were penniless and doubtless desperate for a break from farm labor, and all of the mid-Atlantic region's fertile tracts on navigable rivers had been snapped up already. Men in John's situation needed cash, so that they could travel to the frontier and buy their own land.

John McIntosh is one of the many names in the Virginia militia's 1754 rolls followed by the word "deserted." It appears he stayed at least until May 29, when he was paid one pound, seven shillings, and a penny. In Virginia, that would buy one tenth of a horse cart. In South Carolina's backcountry, it would buy half an acre.

The trail goes cold until five years later, in 1759, when John reappears as the only one of his name in a regiment that the British were raising in South Carolina, for an expedition to 'subdue' the Cherokee in the northwestern part of that colony. Alexander McIntosh appears in the same muster roll, as the only one of his name in the regiment. Whereas John was a private in Captain David Anderson's company, Alexander was one of the expedition's other eleven captains, in command of thirty men. One of Alexander's descendants, in applying to join the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, asserted that Alexander had been commissioned as a captain in 1756. If he did hold the rank that early, then he must have, like his brother, enlisted in a colonial militia at or before the scheduled end of his indenture.

John, this time, stayed for the duration of his enlisted term. The expedition ran from October 8, 1759, to January 10, 1760. It spread slaughter and smallpox, without yielding any strategic gain for the British. But at least it was brief. The force demobilized in Charleston, where, in June 1760, John and Alexander collected their pay.

The commander of John's and Alexander's battalion had been Colonel George Gabriel Powell, who owned a large plantation in South Carolina, just inland of the coastal port of Georgetown. From that spot three rivers – the Santee, the Black, and the Great Pee Dee – wound their ways inland, to the eastern half of the colony's backcountry. That half had more unclaimed land than the western one. Also, the northwestern part of the colony was where the expedition had just been, and where the decidedly unsubdued Cherokee were still concentrated.

One of Alexander's fellow captains in Powell's battalion, David Evans, was from the Welch Tract, which stretched along the Great Pee Dee's upper reaches. So were one of the battalion's lieutenants, Peter Kolb, one of its ensigns, Howell James, and one of its serjeants, Edward Jones. The Evanses, Jameses, and Joneses were three of the six families that had founded the Welch Tract a generation earlier. In the late summer of 1760, Alexander and a close comrade-in-arms, Roderick McIver, headed up the Great Pee Dee to the Welch Tract.

Main Source

Clark, Murtie June, *Colonial Soldiers of the South, 1732-1774* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), pp. 565, 593, 606, 885, 891-92, 901, 920-21, 929-30, 932-33, 935-36.

III. Gentrification Acceleration

Alexander

In 1737, South Carolina's Royal Governor granted a large tract along the eastern bank of the upper Great Pee Dee to a Baptist group comprising fifteen married couples (four named Jones, three named James, three named Evans, three named Harry, one named Wilds, and one named Devonald). The settlers had originally migrated from Wales to eastern Pennsylvania (now Pencader, Delaware). But they could no longer abide the universal-salvation doctrine preached by Pennsylvania's Arminian Baptists. These thirty souls were Baptists of the Calvinist, predestination sort.

Within a year of their arrival in South Carolina, the Welsh settlers had built a church on the Great Pee Dee's eastern bank and named it the Baptist Church of Christ at the Welch [*sic*] Neck. That building is now gone, because in 1798 the community moved their church and village to higher ground across the river – to a spot now called Society Hill. Today, the only memorial stone easily visible in the original church's abandoned cemetery is a modern replacement marking the grave of a local Revolutionary War martyr named Abel Kolb. On Google Earth, you can locate the abandoned cemetery by inputting "Colonel Kolbs Tomb."

The Welch Neck Baptist Church's surviving archives are patchy, but they stretch back to 1759. An entry dated May 2, 1761, notes that "Alexander McIntosh, and Roderick McIver, members of the Church of Scotland were upon their confession of faith and experience in Godliness, and upon signing a covenant, admitted to the Lord's table."

The May 2 entry also records the congregation's earliest surviving expression of liturgical flexibility:

> It was concluded upon by the unanimous voice of the Church that all those who were educated in the belief of infant baptism by sprinkling, and as they labour under the prejudice of such an education can't see it in their duty to submit to Immersion, having been already sprinkled, who shall nevertheless satisfy the Church as to their real conversion, shall be permitted to sit down with us at the Lord's Table upon their signing such a covenant as shall be thought proper by the Church.

No one was going to dunk these two combat veterans in the river.

The same entry records a further concession by the church:

> As many difficulties attend persons, who apply for communion with us, their relating their experience before the whole Congregation, it is concluded that such persons shall first apply and communicate the dealings of God with their souls, to the minister and such others of the members as the Church shall think proper; that they [the intermediaries] may relate it to the church.

Neither of these Scotch Presbyterians was going to open up in front of a Baptist congregation about God's dealings with his soul.

Elsewhere in the minutes, this line appears in a list of the church's members: "[first name illegible] Jones (now McIntosh) died Decr 30.th 1764." It appears that she and Alexander were married a couple of months before he signed the church covenant.

Miss Jones's father was one the Joneses among the Welch Tract's original settlers. Most likely, he bestowed some of his land on her and Alexander, either formally or informally, as a wedding present.

The couple had a son named Alexander in late 1761, another son named John in 1762, and possibly one or even two daughters before Mrs. McIntosh died on December 30, 1764.

The Welch Track remained Alexander's home for the rest of his life. By June 16, 1762, he starts appearing in documents as a local justice of the peace. On February 14, 1768, he bought 150 acres on the Pee Dee's eastern bank. He paid Isaac Staples two hundred pounds for it, so it isn't surprising to see the deed describe him as already being a "planter, of the Welch tract." Alexander had become a landed gentleman.

John

Between June 1760, when he collected his militia pay in Charleston, and August 1768, when he was appointed to be an elector in the upper Pee Dee region's new parish, John does not appear in any of the records I've reviewed. I suspect he spent the first five of those years mainly in Charleston, earning the money and connections necessary to do what Alexander did in 1761. A worthy follow-on project would be to search Charleston's records for traces of our John in the 1760-67 period.

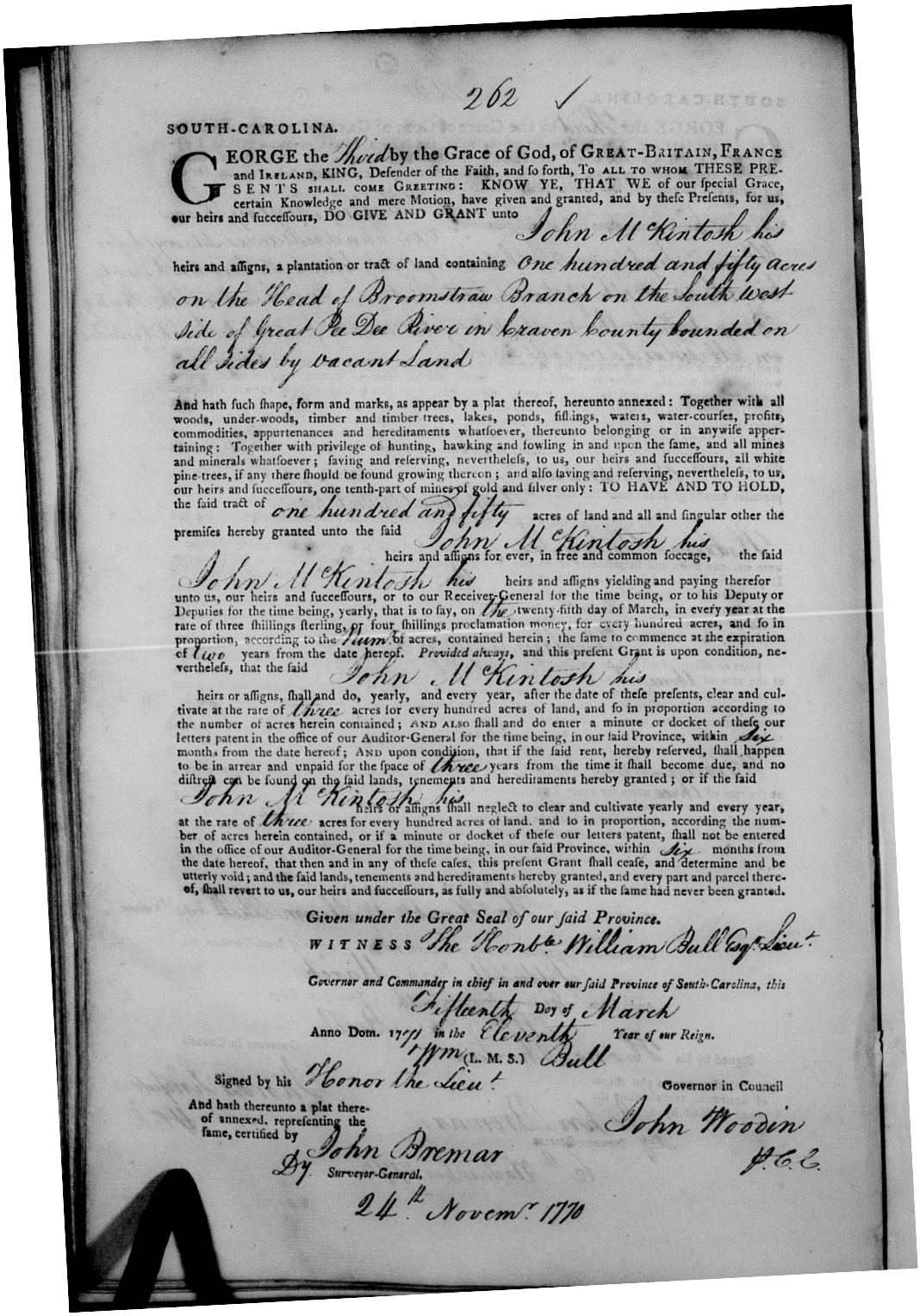
Colonial South Carolina was famous for the generosity of its land grants. When John and Alexander arrived, any adult European male with respectable local references could obtain a Royal grant of 100 acres, plus another fifty for each additional member of his household (spouse, child, or slave).

Applying was easy, and the success rate was high. But, by the late 1760s, applicants had to wait a few years to receive their grants. So, a process had evolved. First, the would-be settler submitted a grant application to the authorities in Charleston. Next, he found a tract that he wanted in the backcountry, where plenty of land was still unclaimed. Then, he made nice with the local, backcountry worthies and did enough clearing work on the desired tract to stake an informal claim. Finally, he lobbied the Charleston authorities to specify his desired tract in the issued grant.

John probably started that process in 1767. He targeted the upper Pee Dee, because his brother was already a well-connected planter there. Alexander's status probably gave John strong-enough prospects to marry and to build a house on his desired Pee Dee tract as early as 1767.

On March 15, 1771, the South Carolina Royal Governor in Council, John Woodin, granted

> unto John McIntosh his heirs and assigns, a plantation tract of land containing one hundred and fifty acres on the Head of Broomstraw Branch on the South West side of Great Pee Dee River in Craven County bounded on all sides by vacant land. … And hath thereunto a plat thereof annexed, representing the same, certified by John Bremar, Deputy Surveyor-General 24th November 1770.



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SOUTH-CAROLINA.

GEORGE the Third by the Grace of God, of GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE and IRELAND, KING, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, To ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME GREETING: KNOW YE, THAT WE of our special Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Motion, have given and granted, and by these Presents, for us, our heirs and successours, DO GIVE AND GRANT unto John M Kintosh his heirs and assigns, a plantation or tract of land containing One hundred and fifty acres on the Head of Broomstraw Branch on the South West side of Great Pee Dee River in Craven County bounded on all sides by vacant Land

And hath such shape, form and marks, as appear by a plat thereof, hereunto annexed: Together with all woods, under-woods, timber and timber trees, lakes, ponds, fishings, waters, water-courses, profits, commodities, appurtenances and hereditaments whatsoever, thereunto belonging or in anywise appertaining: Together with privilege of hunting, hawking and fowling in and upon the same, and all mines and minerals whatsoever; saving and reserving, nevertheless, to us, our heirs and successours, all white pine-trees, if any there should be found growing thereon; and also saving and reserving, nevertheless, to us, our heirs and successours, one tenth-part of mines of gold and silver only: TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, the said tract of one hundred and fifty acres of land and all and singular other the premises hereby granted unto the said John M Kintosh his heirs and assigns for ever, in free and common soccage, the said John M Kintosh his heirs and assigns yielding and paying therefor unto us, our heirs and successours, or to our Receiver-General for the time being, or to his Deputy or Deputies for the time being, yearly, that is to say, on the twenty-fifth day of March, in every year at the rate of three shillings sterling, or four shillings proclamation money, for every hundred acres, and so in proportion, according to the sum of acres, contained herein; the same to commence at the expiration of two years from the date hereof. *Provided always*, and this present Grant is upon condition, nevertheless, that the said John M Kintosh his heirs or assigns, shall and do, yearly, and every year, after the date of these presents, clear and cultivate at the rate of three acres for every hundred acres of land, and so in proportion according to the number of acres herein contained; AND ALSO shall and do enter a minute or docket of these our letters patent in the office of our Auditor-General for the time being, in our said Province, within Six months from the date hereof; AND upon condition, that if the said rent, hereby reserved, shall happen to be in arrear and unpaid for the space of three years from the time it shall become due, and no distress can be found on the said lands, tenements and hereditaments hereby granted; or if the said John M Kintosh his heirs or assigns shall neglect to clear and cultivate yearly and every year, at the rate of three acres for every hundred acres of land. and so in proportion, according the number of acres herein contained, or if a minute or docket of these our letters patent, shall not be entered in the office of our Auditor-General for the time being, in our said Province, within Six months from the date hereof, that then and in any of these cases, this present Grant shall cease, and determine and be utterly void; and the said lands, tenements and hereditaments hereby granted, and every part and parcel thereof, shall revert to us, our heirs and successours, as fully and absolutely, as if the same had never been granted.

Given under the Great Seal of our said Province.

WITNESS the Honble William Bull Esqr Lieut. *Governor and Commander in chief in and over our said Province of South-Carolina, this* Fifteenth Day of March Anno Dom. 1771 *in the* Eleventh *Year of our Reign.*

Wm (L. M. S.) Bull

Signed by his Honor the Lieut Governor in Council

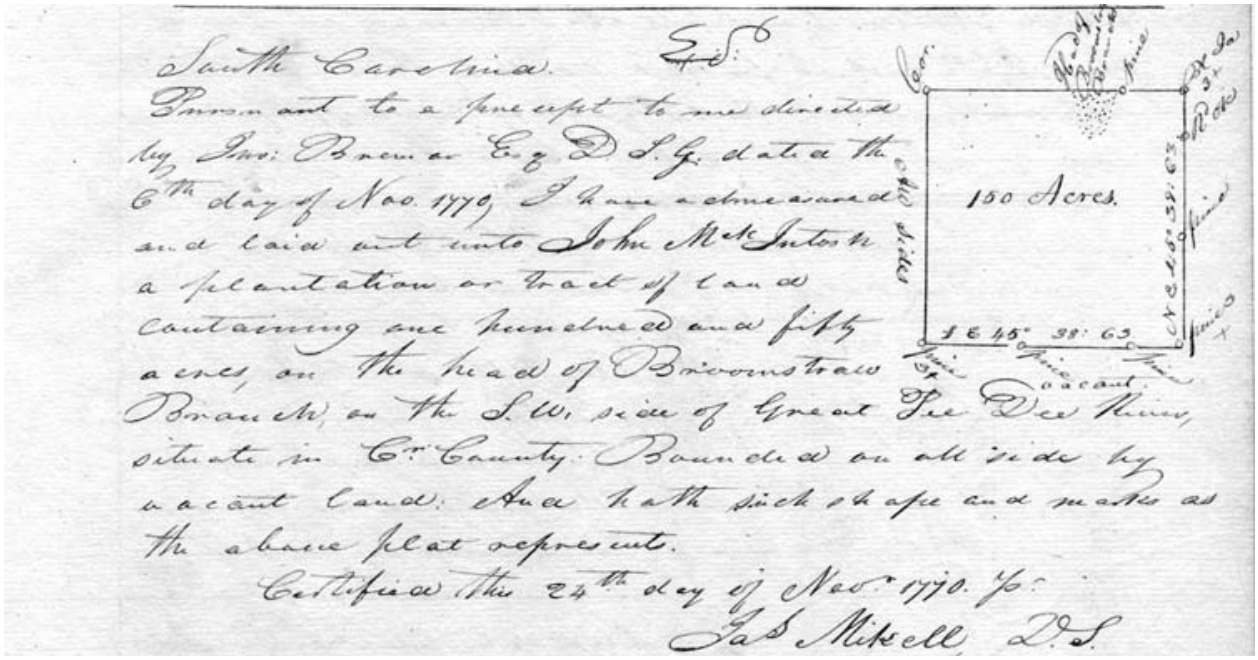
John Woodin D. C. C.

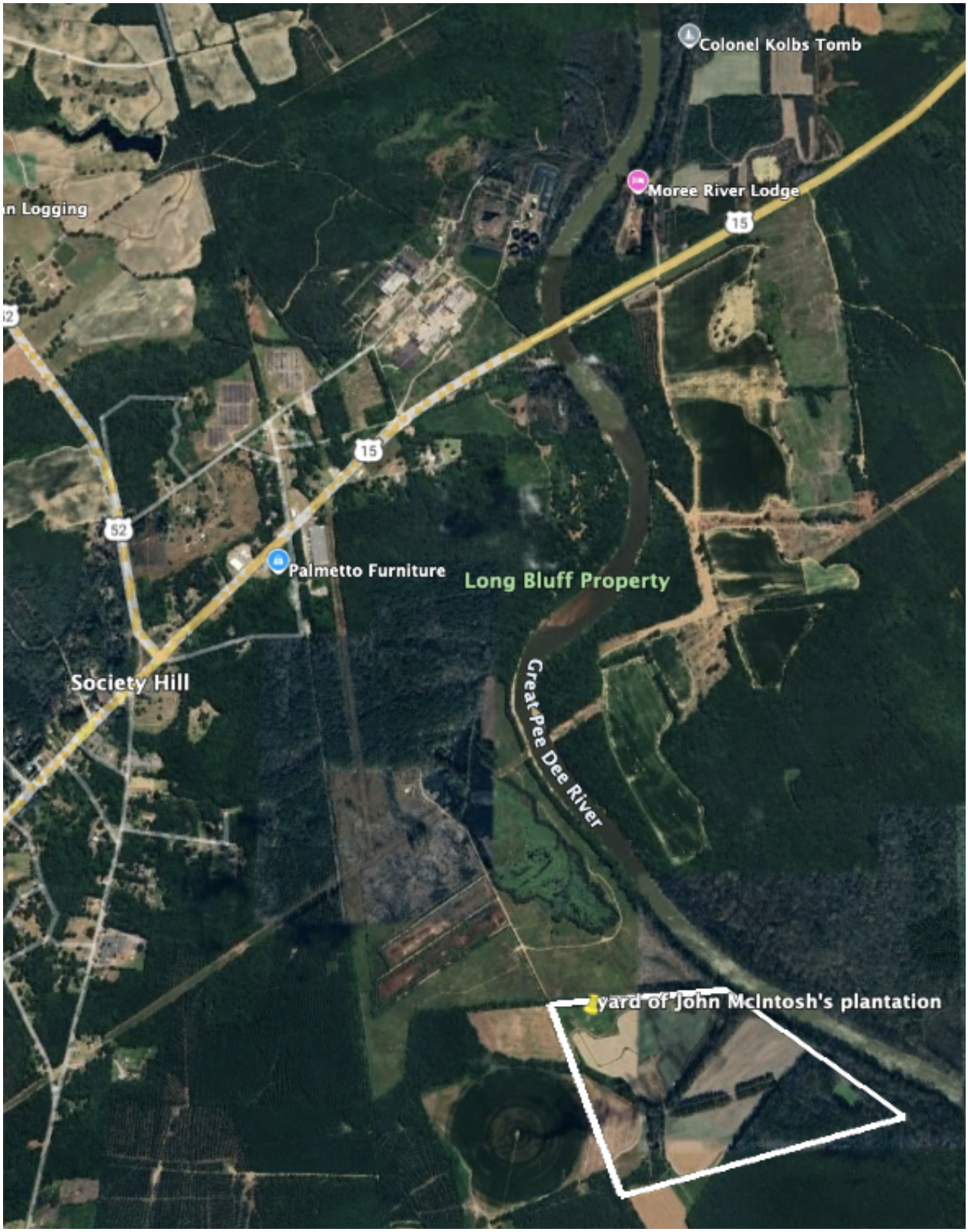
And hath thereunto a plat thereof annexed, representing the same, certified by John Bremar D. Surveyor-General.

24th Novemr 1770

On the plat document that Deputy Surveyor James Mikell had made out on November 6, and that his boss, John Bremar, had certified on the 24th, Mikell had drawn a square, written "150 Acres" in the middle and "pines" outside each of the four sides, and, with dots made with the tip

of his quill, depicted the Head of the Broomstraw Branch intruding slightly into the tract from the north.


South Carolina.
Pursuant to a precept to me directed by Jno: Brown Esq D.S.G. dated the 6th day of Nov. 1770, I have admeasured and laid out unto John McIntosh a plantation or tract of land containing one hundred and fifty acres, on the head of Broomstraw Branch, on the S.W. side of Great Pee Dee River, situate in Cr. County. Bounded on all side by vacant land. And hath such shape and marks as the above plat represents.
Certified the 24th day of Nov. 1770. Ja.S
Ja.S Mikell D.S
150 Acres.
S E 45° 38' 63
Cor.
Pine
Pine
Pine



John's second son (my great, great, great, great grandfather) was named James. That Christian name might have been the maiden name of John's wife. If it seems unusual to select a

surname for a Christian name, then it's worth noting that a prominent Welch Neck James and his grandson were both named James James.

Miss James was the daughter either of Mr. and Mrs. Abel James or of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel James. Those were two of the original Welch Neck couples. She was the niece of Philip and Elizabeth James, who comprised the third James couple among the original settlers.

I believe John married Miss James in 1767 or 1768. That the marriage preceded the November 1770 platting of John's land grant is evidenced by the tract's size: 100 acres for a head of household, plus fifty for a wife.

The couple's first son, predictably named John, was born in 1769. That son subsequently married a Miss Mikell. She was probably related to the James Mikell who, on November 6, 1770, had made out the plat to John's royal grant on the southwestern side of the Pee Dee.

James, the second son mentioned above, was born in 1770. His parents then had at least one daughter, Sarah Elizabeth James, on January 31, 1774.

John had gained acceptance by the Welch Tract's old guard, married one of its daughters, and thus qualified for 150 acres, *gratis*, to call his own.

Main Sources

Langley, Clara A, *South Carolina Deed Abstracts, Vol. 3 (1755-1768)* (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1983), p. 375.

Minutes of the Welsh Neck Baptist Church, Society Hill, South Carolina: Part 1 (1737-1854) (Columbia, SC: WPA Project 165-33-7172, 1937).

South Carolina Royal Land Grants, 1731-1775 (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1951).

IV. Neighboring Planters

In Colonial South Carolina, the unit of local government was the Anglican parish. When a large cluster of established planters in a backcountry district felt they were ready for some officially recognized local autonomy and a voice in colony-wide government, they would petition the authorities in Charleston to establish a new parish covering the territory the planters recommended.

In 1767, the Welch Neck's planters decided they were ready. They presented the colonial legislature in Charleston with a petition to designate their environs as a new Parish of St. David, named for the patron saint of Wales. The planters had been spurred to action by Charleston's infuriating response to a critical threat facing backwoods settlements.

By the late 1760s, South Carolina's backwoods were infested with untethered, violent men who preyed on settler families. A band led by one Winslow Driggers, who had served as a private under Captain Alexander McIntosh in the Cherokee expedition of 1759-60, plagued the Upper Pee Dee region.

The Royal colonial authorities were unequipped to suppress the menace. So, tough settlers with military experience, including our Alexander, organized their own, unofficial militia units to hunt down marauders. The militias called themselves Regulators.

Unsanctioned, organized militias worried the authorities in Charleston more than uncoordinated, violent predators did. So, the colonial government directed units of South Carolina's official militia to confront and disband the vigilantes. Of course, when official militiamen encountered Regulators, they usually found themselves reunited with old Cherokee War comrades and, as often as not, joined forces with them.

In August 1768, the colony's Provost Marshal, Roger Pinckney, a Georgetown planter named George Gabriel Powell, and twenty-five militiamen under their command marched from Georgetown up to Cheraw, a village several miles north of, and across the Pee Dee from, the Welch Tract. On its way north, at Marrs Bluff, the troop was able to swell its ranks with a fifteen-man group that answered to a planter named Robert Weaver, and a twenty-man group under a Constable Thompson. Thompson and fourteen of his militiamen had recently received fifty lashes each from the last group of Regulators they had tried to apprehend.

At Cheraw, Powell's sixty-man militia unit found itself confronted by 300 Regulators under the command of five men, including Alexander McIntosh. No one got hurt, but Powell, Weaver, and Thompson, plus those of their men who didn't immediately transfer allegiance to McIntosh and his fellows, sheepishly returned to the coast.

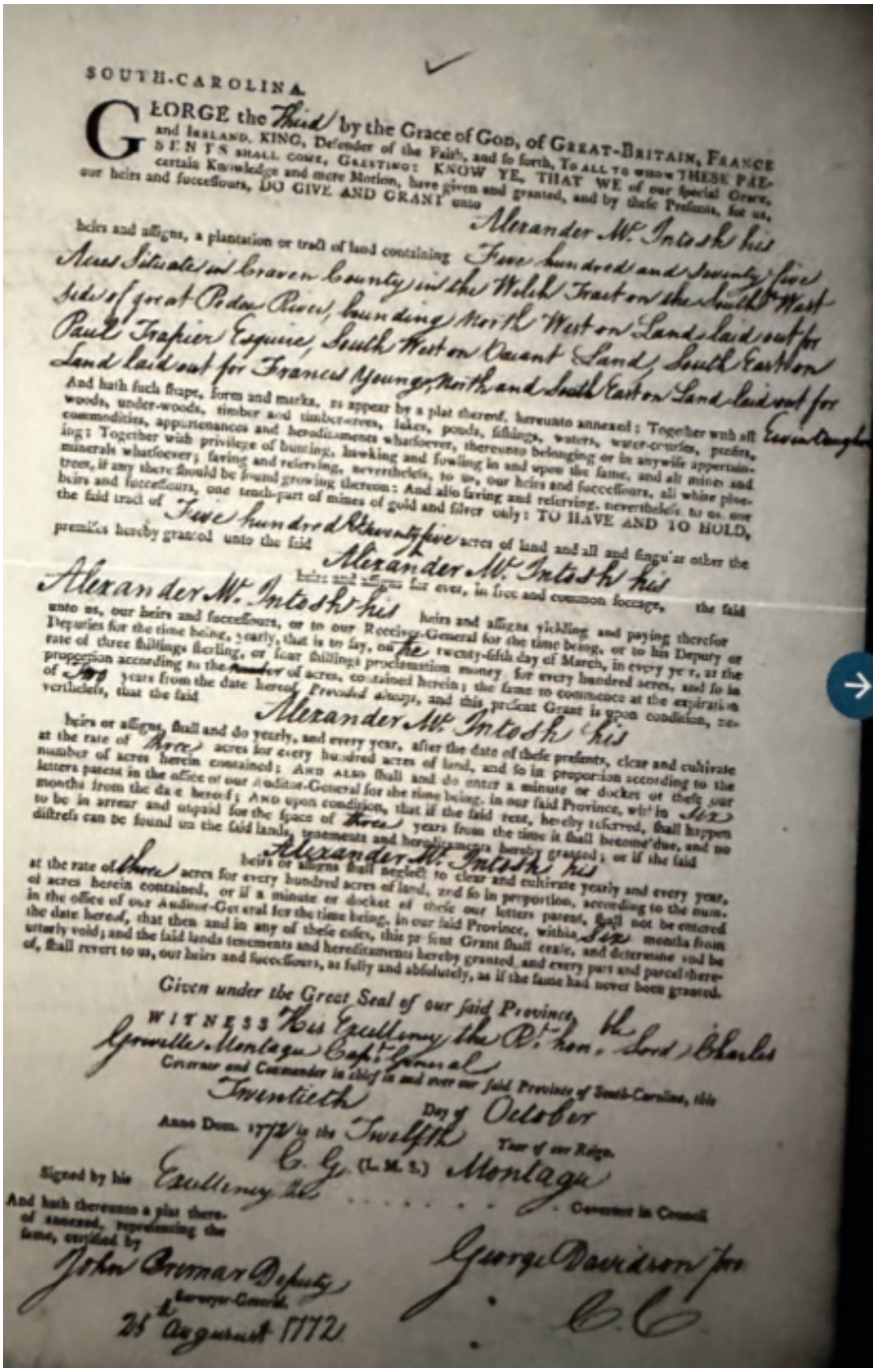
The politicians in Charleston should have realized that their problem would soon be obviated by the implementation of a decision they had already made. Four months prior to Provost Marshal Pinckney's ill-advised expedition to Cheraw, the colony's legislature had passed, and the Royal Governor had signed, a statute establishing the Parish of St. David. The statute itself designated the new parish's first slate of fourteen commissioners. Alexander McIntosh was one of them.

Non-Anglicans could serve in a parish's government and represent it in Charleston without participating in the parish church. St. David's first minutes, dated August 1, 1768, note that the "following Gentlemen declined acting as commissioners in the affairs of the church *viz*. Alexander Mackintosh, James James, Robert Alison." The minutes of October 1, 1771, list the men appointed to replace those supervisors of the parish church's construction who had died, were moving away, or, in the cases of "Alexander McIntosh & Thomas Ports," were "refusing to Act." Alexander was probably even less willing to involve himself in an Anglican church than he was to act like a Baptist.

John didn't join the new church either, although he served as one of the electors of its officers. He also hosted the election of the parish's first representative to the colonial assembly in

Charleston. Advertisements posted on September 26, 1768, read: “The Inhabitants of the Parish of St. David are required to meet on Tuesday, the Fourth Day of October Ensuing, at the house of Mr. John Mackintosh . . . in Order to Elect a Member of the Assembly for the said Parish.” According to Alexander Gregg’s *History of the Old Cheraws*, John’s house was located “just above Cock Run, about two miles below Long Bluff, on the public road leading thence to George-town.” That description matches the site described by the platting of John’s land grant.

Geography dictated that St. David’s eastern boundary be the Great Pee Dee River (and that its western boundary be Lynches Creek). Consequently, the original Welch Tract, including Alexander McIntosh’s original plantation, fell outside the new parish. The local planters didn’t balk, because flooding patterns were already shifting their economic center of gravity to the Pee Dee’s western side. When, in 1772, Alexander McIntosh’s military record, government service, and expanding household (enslaved Africans, mostly) yielded an enormous Royal grant of 575 acres, his new tract was situated to the river’s west.



SOUTH-CAROLINA.

GEORGE the Third by the Grace of GOD, of GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE and IRELAND, KING, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, To ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS shall COME, GREETING: KNOW YE, THAT WE of our special Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Motion, have given and granted, and by these Presents, for us, our heirs and successours, DO GIVE AND GRANT unto

Alexander Mc Intosh his

heirs and assigns, a plantation or tract of land containing Five hundred and seventy five Acres Situate in Craven County in the Welch Neck on the South West side of great Pedee River, bounding North West on Land laid out for Paul Trapier Esquire, South West on Vacant Land, South East on Land laid out for Frances Young, North and South East on Land laid out for

And hath such shape, form and marks, as appear by a plat thereof, hereunto annexed: Together with all woods, under-woods, timber and timber-trees, lakes, ponds, fishings, waters, water-courses, profits, commodities, appurtenances and hereditaments whatsoever, thereunto belonging or in anywise appertaining: Together with privilege of hunting, hawking and fowling in and upon the same, and all mines and minerals whatsoever; saving and reserving, nevertheless, to us, our heirs and successours, all white pine-trees, if any there should be found growing thereon: And also saving and reserving, nevertheless, to us, our heirs and successours, one tenth-part of mines of gold and silver only: TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, the said tract of Five hundred & seventy five acres of land and all and singular other the premises hereby granted unto the said Alexander Mc Intosh his

heirs and assigns for ever, in free and common soccage, the said Alexander Mc Intosh his heirs and assigns yielding and paying therefor unto us, our heirs and successours, or to our Receiver-General for the time being, or to his Deputy or Deputies for the time being, yearly, that is to say, on the twenty-fifth day of March, in every year, at the rate of three shillings sterling, or four shillings proclamation money for every hundred acres, and so in proportion according to the number of acres, contained herein; the same to commence at the expiration of Ten years from the date hereof, Provided always, and this present Grant is upon condition, nevertheless, that the said Alexander Mc Intosh his

heirs or assigns, shall and do yearly, and every year, after the date of these presents, clear and cultivate at the rate of three acres for every hundred acres of land, and so in proportion according to the number of acres herein contained; AND ALSO shall and do enter a minute or docket of these our letters patent in the office of our Auditor-General for the time being, in our said Province, within Six months from the date hereof; AND upon condition, that if the said rent, hereby reserved, shall happen to be in arrear and unpaid for the space of three years from the time it shall become due, and no distress can be found on the said lands, tenements and hereditaments hereby granted; or if the said Alexander Mc Intosh his

heirs or assigns shall neglect to clear and cultivate yearly and every year, at the rate of three acres for every hundred acres of land, and so in proportion, according to the number of acres herein contained, or if a minute or docket of these our letters patent, shall not be entered in the office of our Auditor-General for the time being, in our said Province, within Six months from the date hereof, that then and in any of these cases, this present Grant shall cease, and determine and be utterly void; and the said lands tenements and hereditaments hereby granted and every part and parcel thereof, shall revert to us, our heirs and successours, as fully and absolutely, as if the same had never been granted.

Given under the Great Seal of our said Province,

WITNESS His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Lord Charles Greenville Montagu Capt. General Governor and Commander in chief in and over our said Province of South-Carolina, this Twentieth Day of October Anno Dom. 1772 in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

C. G. (L. M. S.) Montagu

Signed by his Excellency the ..... Governor in Council

And hath thereunto a plat thereof annexed, representing the same, certified by John Drayton Deputy Surveyor-General. 25 August 1772

George Davidson jun. C. C.

John's October 4, 1768, hosting of the election of St. David's first representative to the colonial assembly is the last trace I have found of him. I don't doubt Alexander Gregg's assertion that "John McIntosh died in 1774." I assume he was buried in Welch Neck's original Baptist cemetery, next to a memorial stone that is now illegible or gone.

John's wife was left with at least three young children, including one daughter less than a year old. I have a strong hunch that the widowed Alexander brought them all into his household, where his sister-in-law then cared for both her own children and Alexander's. That would explain

why, by the Twentieth Century, people mistakenly thought a Miss James had married Alexander and mistakenly attributed some of John's children to Alexander, and *vice versa*.

In 1775, Alexander served as one of the Parish of St. David's six representatives to South Carolina's First Provincial Congress. In June of that year, he was commissioned as a major in the state's Second Regiment. In March 1778, as the Revolutionary War expanded to South Carolina, Alexander was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. When Charleston fell to the British, on May 12, 1780, he was taken prisoner. Brigadier General McIntosh spent two-and-a-half years in captivity before dying on November 18, 1780. His remains rest in an unmarked grave in Charleston.

Alexander McIntosh exited life as he had entered adulthood: a rebel soldier imprisoned by the British.

Main Sources

Brown, Richard Maxwell, *The South Carolina Regulators: The Story of the First American Vigilante Movement* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1963), pp. 29, 55-58,.

Holcomb, Brent H., *Saint David's Parish, South Carolina Minutes of the Vestry 1768-1832* (Greenvile, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1979), pp. 2-3, 5, 7, 12, 36.